461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
252 houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold. the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerácaraũ
eten-ã
quenhen-â
hera-â
bocubocu baru
iparâ

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; pataúá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.
[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekqa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

241/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

241/462 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended 252 family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beijú, as it is called in the lingua geral.

252 Processing of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many stages. The women worked well together under the loose supervision of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. Cooperative labor allowed different women to be working in all stages of the process at the same time, thus expediting greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. In addition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous task was made pleasant, as the making of beijú was an occasion for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal techniques of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the modern Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altered.

[476]

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264-476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within the Mundurucú village was very fluid. Beijú was produced and shared jointly by the members of the extended family and was further distributed to other houses according to kinship ties. There was only one cooking fire within each house, and fish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food was divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinship. However, when the day's kill was very small, a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of the hunter ate the food themselves. This was exceptional.

Collectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fact that all the men of the village ate together in

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beijú* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipití*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *anyokokukat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack.

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family.

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams.

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipití, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient.

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households.

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce:

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 476 462 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid 252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from [462] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The [412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against [177] the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipití*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger-squeezer. The tipití is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

one end from a roof beam of the farinha shed, and a long lever is passed through a loop at its lower end. One or two women sit on the end of the lever, stretching and compressing the tipití, and much of the prussic-acid-bearing liquid is squeezed from the grated manioc. After being taken from the tipití, the semi-dry mass is then passed through a basketry sieve in order to extract coarse lumps and fibers. The resultant damp flour is fashioned into thin cakes and baked on a copper griddle placed over a clay-walled furnace. Since prussic acid is highly volatile, the cooking process completes the extraction of the poison. 252

Farinha manufacture follows the same principles and many of the procedures of that of beijú. A type known as *farinha seca*, or dry manioc flour, is made by the same process as that followed in beijú, except that the grated and sifted mass is not made into cakes, but is spread out on the copper griddle and stirred with a paddle. The result is a toasted flour. When making farinha seca, the women often soak the grated manioc in basins of water and then squeeze it with their hands and drain it before placing it in the tipití. This water, to which the liquid extracted by the tipití is added, is allowed to stand for a day. The starch leached from the manioc settles to the bottom, and the water is then poured away. This starch is toasted on the griddle to make tapioca.

Because they conserve the starch, the most nutritious component of the tuber, farinha seca and beijú are the best manioc foods available. But expediency causes the starch-wasting process by which *farinha d'agua* (manioc flour from water) is made to be the one most commonly used today. In this procedure, the manioc is brought directly from the garden to a small stream, where it is placed in the water and allowed to soak until soft and pulpy. This generally takes three days in warm water and five days

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipití, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [177] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

462 Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp- 476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of 244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro- 252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are 462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals 422 or extended families.

574 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production
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12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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[224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

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[462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

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[343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171]

of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [36] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grasslands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which [252] sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial purposes. [439] Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the mere usage of a plant

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241 177